

Preliminary Information

*[Interviewer: the answers to these questions must remain **strictly confidential**. Only enter the respondent's number and primary sampling unit. Please **do not** identify the respondent by name or address anywhere on this form.]*

v1	Respondent number	_____
v2	Interviewer number	_____
v3	District	_____
v4	Date	_____
v5	Sex	_____

Background Information

v6	How old are you?	_____
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v7	What is the highest level of education you have reached?		
	1: Illiterate	2: Finished primary school	3: Finished middle school
	4: Finished secondary school	5: Some university	6: Bachelor's degree
	7: Master's degree or higher	8: Vocational/Technical training	-99: (No Answer)

v8	Before the conflict broke out, how many family members lived with you in your home back in Syria?	_____
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v9	And how many bedrooms were there in your home?	_____
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v10	These days, how many family members live with you in your home here in Lebanon?	_____
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v11	How many bedrooms are there in your home here? <i>[Interviewer: if respondent lives in a one-room tent or caravan, do not ask this question and record the answer as "0"]</i>	_____
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v12	How would you compare your standard of living here in Lebanon to what it was in Syria before the conflict started? Do you feel that it is						
	1 Much lower	2 Somewhat lower	3 About the same	4 Somewhat better	5 Much better	-98 (Don't Know)	-99 (No Answer)

v13	What province in Syria are you from?				
	1 Daraa	2 Quneitra	3 al-Suwayda	4 Dimashq	5 Rif Dimashq
	6 Homs	7 Hama	8 Tartus	9 Latakia	10 Idlib
	11 Halab	12 al-Raqqa	13 Deir al-Zour	14 al-Hasaka	-99 (No Answer)

v13 What province in Syria are you from?

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v14 When did you leave Syria? In what month and year? If you cannot remember exactly, please give me your best guess.

...a Month:

1: January	2: February	3: March	4: April	5: May	6: June
7: July	8: August	9: September	10: October	11: November	12: December

...b Year: _____

What languages do you speak? Do you speak them comfortably, with difficulty, or not at all? [Interviewer: mark answers like “just a few words” as “Not at All.”]

	Comfortably	With Difficulty	Not at All	(Don't Know)	(No Answer)
v15a Arabic	3	2	1	-98	-99
...b Kurdish	3	2	1	-98	-99
...c A western language like English or French	3	2	1	-98	-99

v16 What is your religious denomination?

1: Sunni	2: Shia	3: Alawi	4: Druze
5: Ismaili	6: Orthodox Christian	7: Catholic Christian	8: Syriac Christian
9: Armenian Christian	10: Other Christian	11: Other	-99: (No Answer)

v17 How often do you pray?

5: Several times a day	4: Once or twice a day	3: Once a week
2: Only on religious holidays	1: Rarely/Never	-99: (No Answer)

v18

How often do you read the Quran/Bible?

5: Several times a day

4: Once or twice a day

3: Once a week

2: Only on religious holidays

1: Rarely/Never

-99: *(No Answer)*

In your judgment, how important a role should religion play in each of the following areas of public life?

		Very Important	Somewh at Important	Not very important	Not important at all	<i>(Don't Know)</i>	<i>(No Answer)</i>
v19a	Economic and commercial affairs	4	3	2	1	-98	-99
...b	Political and administrative affairs	4	3	2	1	-98	-99
...c	Criminal proceedings and punishment	4	3	2	1	-98	-99
...d	Marriage and divorce	4	3	2	1	-98	-99

Interest in Public Affairs

I'm going to read you a list of countries. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of each of them.

		Very Favorable	Somewhat Favorable	Somewhat Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	(Don't Know)	(No Answer)
v20a	The United States	4	3	2	1	-98	-99
...b	Russia	4	3	2	1	-98	-99
...c	Iran	4	3	2	1	-98	-99
...d	Saudi Arabia	4	3	2	1	-98	-99
...e	Turkey	4	3	2	1	-98	-99
...g	China	4	3	2	1	-98	-99
...g	The European Union	4	3	2	1	-98	-99

v21 Generally speaking, how interested would you say you are in politics?

1: Very interested

2: Somewhat interested

3: A little interested

4: Not interested

-98: (Don't Know)

-99: (No Answer)

v22

Let me ask you about how difficult you think it is for people like you to understand Syrian politics. I will read you two statements: please tell me which one you agree with more. Do you agree strongly or just somewhat?

Political life is often difficult for someone like you to understand.

You usually have a good understanding of what's going on in Syrian politics.

3: (Not agree with either statement) [Do not read]

Agree Strongly

Agree Somewhat

1

2

5

4

-98: (Don't Know)

-99: (No Answer)

It is sometimes difficult for people to keep up with the changes in Syrian public affairs. Most people don't know the answers to all of these questions, but even if you're not sure what the answer is, just tell me your best guess.

v23a	Who is the government's foreign minister?	1: Faysal Muqdad	2: Walid al-Mouallem	3: Buthayna Sha'aban	-98: (<i>Don't Know</i>)	-99: (<i>No Answer</i>)
...b	According to the current constitution, how long are Syria's presidential terms?	5 years	6 years	7 years	-98: (<i>Don't Know</i>)	-99: (<i>No Answer</i>)
...c	How many seats are there in the Syrian parliament?	200	250	300	-98: (<i>Don't Know</i>)	-99: (<i>No Answer</i>)
...d	Where did the first revolution of the Arab Spring happen?	1: Egypt	2: Tunisia	3: Syria	-98: (<i>Don't Know</i>)	-99: (<i>No Answer</i>)

Political Preferences

I'm going to read you a list of some of the groups fighting in the conflict right now. In general, with which one do you sympathize most? How about second-most? And how about third-most? *[Interviewer: read the full list and then mark the rank order of the top three]*

v24a	Free Syrian Army	_____	-97: (Not Mentioned)	-98: (Don't Know)	-99: (No Answer)
...b	Syrian government	_____	-97: (Not Mentioned)	-98: (Don't Know)	-99: (No Answer)
...c	Syrian Islamist groups	_____	-97: (Not Mentioned)	-98: (Don't Know)	-99: (No Answer)
...d	Foreign Islamist groups	_____	-97: (Not Mentioned)	-98: (Don't Know)	-99: (No Answer)
...e	Kurdish groups	_____	-97: (Not Mentioned)	-98: (Don't Know)	-99: (No Answer)
...f	Hizballah	_____	-97: (Not Mentioned)	-98: (Don't Know)	-99: (No Answer)

Syrians have different views about what kind of outcome they want to for the conflict. Let me read you five statements people have given us. Please tell me which one is closest to your own views, the one that is second-closest, and the one that is third-closest. *[Interviewer: read the full list and then mark the rank order]*

v25a	It would be better for Syria if the Free Syrian Army and its allies defeat the government militarily.	1: Closest	2: 2 nd -closest	3: 3 rd -closest	-97: (Not Mentioned)
...b	It would be better for Syria if Da'ish defeats the government militarily.	1: Closest	2: 2 nd -closest	3: 3 rd -closest	-97: (Not Mentioned)
...c	It would be better for Syria if the government defeats the rebels militarily.	1: Closest	2: 2 nd -closest	3: 3 rd -closest	-97: (Not Mentioned)
...d	It would be better for Syria if the government and the rebels reach a peace agreement.	1: Closest	2: 2 nd -closest	3: 3 rd -closest	-97: (Not Mentioned)

Syrians have different views about what kind of outcome they want to for the conflict. Let me read you five statements people have given us. Please tell me which one is closest to your own views, the one that is second-closest, and the one that is third-closest. *[Interviewer: read the full list and then mark the rank order]*

<i>...e</i>	You don't care who wins as long as the conflict ends.	<i>1: Closest</i>	<i>2: 2nd-closest</i>	<i>3: 3rd-closest</i>	<i>-97: (Not Mentioned)</i>
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Experiment Module 1: International Factors

[Interviewer: Respondents are randomly assigned to different question prompts. Please consult your list of random numbers to determine which prompt to read to each respondent.]

v26	Treatment group (use random number table)							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

<i>If group 1, read:</i>	As you know, a number of Arab and foreign countries have become involved in the Syrian conflict.
<i>If group 2, read:</i>	As you know, a number of Arab and foreign countries, such as Saudi Arabia, have become involved in the Syrian conflict.
<i>If group 3, read:</i>	As you know, a number of Arab and foreign countries, such as Iran, have become involved in the Syrian conflict.
<i>If group 4, read:</i>	As you know, a number of Arab and foreign countries have become involved in the Syrian conflict by providing humanitarian assistance to the people displaced by the fighting.
<i>If group 5, read:</i>	As you know, a number of Arab and foreign countries have become involved in the Syrian conflict by providing weapons and military hardware.
<i>If group 6, read:</i>	As you know, a number of Arab and foreign countries, such as Saudi Arabia, have become involved in the Syrian conflict by providing humanitarian assistance to the people displaced by the fighting.
<i>If group 7, read:</i>	As you know, a number of Arab and foreign countries, such as Saudi Arabia, have become involved in the Syrian conflict by providing weapons and military hardware.
<i>If group 8, read:</i>	As you know, a number of Arab and foreign countries, such as Iran, have become involved in the Syrian conflict by providing humanitarian assistance to the people displaced by the

	fighting.
<i>If group 9, read:</i>	As you know, a number of Arab and foreign countries, such as Iran, have become involved in the Syrian conflict by providing weapons and military hardware.

v27a	Treatment group (use random number table)	1	2
<i>If group 1:</i>	Ask <i>CLOSED RESPONSE (...b)</i> question first, and <i>OPEN RESPONSE (...c)</i> question second		
<i>If group 2:</i>	Ask <i>OPEN RESPONSE (...c)</i> question first, and <i>CLOSED RESPONSE (...b)</i> question second		
...b	<p><i>[Closed Response]</i> Overall, would you say that the international community's role in the conflict has generally been positive or negative? <i>[Interviewer: do not read "Neutral/No Effect," "Don't Know," or "No Answer"]</i></p> <p>4: Strongly Positive 3: Somewhat Positive 2: Somewhat Negative 1: Very Negative</p> <p>0: <i>(Neutral/No Effect)</i> -98: <i>(Don't Know)</i> -99: <i>(No Answer)</i></p>		
...c	<p><i>[Open Response]</i> In your own words, how has the international community affected the Syrian conflict? <i>[Interviewer: record answer word-for-word]</i></p>		

Experiment Module 2: Air Campaign

[Interviewer: Respondents are **randomly assigned** to different question prompts. Please consult your list of random numbers to determine which prompt to read to each respondent.]

v28	Treatment group (use random number table)						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

<i>If group 1, read:</i>	As you probably know, a number of countries are conducting airstrikes against Da'ish.
<i>If group 2, read:</i>	As you probably know, the United States is conducting airstrikes against Da'ish.
<i>If group 3, read:</i>	As you probably know, Russia is conducting airstrikes against Da'ish.
<i>If group 4, read:</i>	As you probably know, Turkey is conducting airstrikes against Da'ish.
<i>If group 5, read:</i>	As you probably know, the United States and Russia are conducting airstrikes against Da'ish.
<i>If group 6, read:</i>	As you probably know, the United States and Turkey are conducting airstrikes against Da'ish.
<i>If group 7, read:</i>	As you probably know, Russia and Turkey are conducting airstrikes against Da'ish.
<i>If group 8, read:</i>	As you probably know, the United States, Russia, and Turkey are conducting airstrikes against Da'ish.

v29	Overall, do you support or oppose this bombing campaign? Would you say you strongly support it, support it somewhat, oppose it somewhat, or strongly oppose it?		
	4: Strongly support 1: Strongly oppose	3: Somewhat support -98: (<i>Don't Know</i>)	2: Somewhat oppose -99: (<i>No Answer</i>)

v30	Some people think that the bombing campaign is meant to help the Syrian people, while others think that it is meant to protect the interests of foreign powers. Which of these two views is closest to your own? I will read you two statements: please tell me which one you agree with more. Do you agree strongly or just somewhat?	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat
	The bombing campaign is meant to help the Syrian people.	1	2
	The bombing campaign is meant to protect the interests of foreign powers.	5	4
	3: (<i>Agree with both statements about equally</i>) [<i>Do not read</i>]	-98: (<i>Don't Know</i>)	-99: (<i>No Answer</i>)

Let me ask you about some of the groups that could be affected by the bombing campaign. For each of them, do you think the campaign will help, hurt, or not affect them?								
		Help a lot	Help a little	No effect	Hurt a little	Hurt a lot	(<i>Don't Know</i>)	(<i>No answer</i>)
v31	Da'ish	5	4	3	2	1	-98	-99
...b	Syrian government	5	4	3	2	1	-98	-99
...c	Free Syrian Army and its allies	5	4	3	2	1	-98	-99
...d	Syrian people	5	4	3	2	1	-98	-99

Experiment Module 3: Trump Order

*[Interviewer: Respondents are **randomly assigned** to different question prompts. Please consult your list of random numbers to determine which prompt to read to each respondent.]*

v32	Treatment group (use random number table)				
	1	2	3	4	5

<i>If group 1, read:</i>	American interest in Syria has gone up and down in recent years.
<i>If group 2, read:</i>	American interest in Syria has gone up and down in recent years. Earlier this year, the new American president issued an order banning all refugees and people from a number of Muslim-majority countries, including Syria, from entering the United States.
<i>If group 3, read:</i>	American interest in Syria has gone up and down in recent years. Earlier this year, the new American president issued an order banning all refugees and people from a number of Muslim-majority countries, including Syria, from entering the United States. However, massive protests against the president's order broke out across the United States.
<i>If group 4, read:</i>	American interest in Syria has gone up and down in recent years. Earlier this year, the new American president issued an order banning all refugees and people from a number of Muslim-majority countries, including Syria, from entering the United States. However, the American courts blocked parts of the president's order from taking effect.
<i>If group 5, read:</i>	American interest in Syria has gone up and down in recent years. Earlier this year, the new American president issued an order banning all refugees and people from a number of Muslim-majority countries, including Syria, from entering the United States. However, massive protests against the president's order broke out across the United States, and the American courts blocked parts of the president's order from taking effect.

v33a	Treatment group (use random number table)	1	2
<i>If group 1, read:</i>	In your own words, what would you like to say to the American president?		
<i>If group 2, read:</i>	In your own words, what would you like to say to the American people?		
...b	<i>[Open response. Interviewer: record answer word-for-word]</i>		

I'm going to read you some characteristics about the United States. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of each of them.

		Very Favorable	Somewhat Favorable	Somewhat Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	<i>(Don't Know)</i>	<i>(No Answer)</i>
v34a	American foreign policy	4	3	2	1	-98	-99
...b	American democracy	4	3	2	1	-98	-99
...c	The American president	4	3	2	1	-98	-99
...d	The American courts	4	3	2	1	-98	-99
..e	The American people	4	3	2	1	-98	-99

Experiment Module 4: Post-Conflict Institutions

*[Interviewer: Respondents are **randomly assigned** to different question prompts. Please consult your list of random numbers to determine which prompt to read to each respondent.]*

v35	Treatment group (use random number table)	1	2	3	4
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[Interviewer: read to all respondents in all groups] Syrians have a lot of different views about how best to govern their country after the conflict ends. People sometimes distinguish between outcomes they think are good options, and outcomes they think they can live with. The good outcomes are the ones they actually want, and the rest are options they would accept, even if they would prefer something else.

Group 1

v36

GROUP 1: Let me start by asking you about the good outcomes: the types of government you would actually like to see in Syria. Which of the following would be good for Syria? [Interviewer: mark Group 2, Group 3, and Group 4 as “Not Applicable.” Do not read “No Answer.”]

<i>GROUP 1 ONLY</i>		Yes (Support)	No (Oppose)	(Not Applicable)	(No Answer)
<i>...a</i>	Democracy with a strong parliament	1	0	-97	-99
<i>...b</i>	A system in which political parties are illegal	1	0	-97	-99
<i>...c</i>	The Assad government	1	0	-97	-99
<i>...d</i>	A military government	1	0	-97	-99

v37

GROUP 1: Let me ask you about a few more options. Now tell me if you think these are tolerable: options you don't think are ideal for Syria, but which you would accept if you had to. Which of the following would be acceptable for Syria? [Interviewer: mark Group 2, Group 3, and Group 4 as “Not Applicable.” Do not read “No Answer.”]

<i>GROUP 1 ONLY</i>		Yes (Support)	No (Oppose)	(Not Applicable)	(No Answer)
<i>...a</i>	Democracy with a strong president	1	0	-97	-99
<i>...b</i>	A system with multiple political parties	1	0	-97	-99
<i>...c</i>	An Islamic emirate or caliphate	1	0	-97	-99
<i>...d</i>	Return of the French Mandate	1	0	-97	-99

Group 2

v38

GROUP 2: Let me start by asking you about the good outcomes: the types of government you would actually like to see in Syria. Which of the following would be good for Syria? [Interviewer: mark Group 1, Group 3, and Group 4 as “Not Applicable.” Do not read “No Answer.”]

<i>GROUP 2 ONLY</i>		Yes (Support)	No (Oppose)	(Not Applicable)	(No Answer)
...a	Democracy with a strong president	1	0	-97	-99
...b	A system with multiple political parties	1	0	-97	-99
...c	An Islamic emirate or caliphate	1	0	-97	-99
...d	Return of the French Mandate	1	0	-97	-99

v39

GROUP 2: Let me ask you about a few more options. Now tell me if you think these are tolerable: options you don't think are ideal for Syria, but which you would accept if you had to. Which of the following would be acceptable for Syria? [Interviewer: mark Group 1, Group 3, and Group 4 as “Not Applicable.” Do not read “No Answer.”]

<i>GROUP 2 ONLY</i>		Yes (Support)	No (Oppose)	(Not Applicable)	(No Answer)
...a	Democracy with a strong parliament	1	0	-97	-99
...b	A system in which political parties are illegal	1	0	-97	-99
...c	The Assad government	1	0	-97	-99
...d	A military government	1	0	-97	-99

Group 3

v40

GROUP 3: Let me start by asking you about the good outcomes: the types of government you would actually like to see in Syria. I'm going to read you the whole list of options. When I'm done, I want you to tell me *how many* of them would be good for Syria. *Don't tell me which ones*, just tell me how many. I'll read the list twice. Please keep count on your fingers, but don't show me. [*Interviewer: turn your body 90 degrees and read the list twice, slowly. Mark Group 1, Group 2, and Group 4 as "Not Applicable." Do not read "No Answer."*]

GROUP 3 ONLY

How many? (0-4)	(Not Applicable)	(No Answer)
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...x

How many of these options would be good for Syria:
Democracy with a strong parliament; a system in which political parties are illegal; the Assad government; a military government

_____	-97	-99
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v41

GROUP 3: Let me ask you about a few more options. Now tell me if you think these are tolerable: options you don't think are ideal for Syria, but which you would accept if you had to. I'm going to read you the whole list of options. When I'm done, I want you to tell me *how many* of them would be acceptable for Syria. *Don't tell me which ones*, just tell me how many. I'll read the list twice. Please keep count on your fingers, but don't show me. [*Interviewer: turn your body 90 degrees and read the list twice, slowly. Mark Group 1, Group 2, and Group 4 as "Not Applicable." Do not read "No Answer."*]

GROUP 3 ONLY

How many? (0-4)	(Not Applicable)	(No Answer)
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...x

How many of these options would be acceptable for Syria:
Democracy with a strong president; a system with multiple political parties; an Islamic emirate or caliphate; return of the French Mandate

_____	-97	-99
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Group 4

v42

GROUP 4: Let me start by asking you about the good outcomes: the types of government you would actually like to see in Syria. I'm going to read you the whole list of options. When I'm done, I want you to tell me *how many* of them would be good for Syria. *Don't tell me which ones*, just tell me how many. I'll read the list twice. Please keep count on your fingers, but don't show me. [*Interviewer: turn your body 90 degrees and read the list twice, slowly. Mark Group 1, Group 2, and Group 3 as "Not Applicable." Do not read "No Answer."*]

GROUP 4 ONLY

How many? (0-4)	(Not Applicable)	(No Answer)
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...x

How many of these options would be good for Syria:
Democracy with a strong president; a system with multiple political parties; an Islamic emirate or caliphate; return of the French Mandate

_____	-97	-99
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v43

GROUP 4: Let me ask you about a few more options. Now tell me if you think these are tolerable: options you don't think are ideal for Syria, but which you would accept if you had to. I'm going to read you the whole list of options. When I'm done, I want you to tell me *how many* of them would be acceptable for Syria. *Don't tell me which ones*, just tell me how many. I'll read the list twice. Please keep count on your fingers, but don't show me. [*Interviewer: turn your body 90 degrees and read the list twice, slowly. Mark Group 1, Group 2, and Group 3 as "Not Applicable." Do not read "No Answer."*]

GROUP 4 ONLY

How many? (0-4)	(Not Applicable)	(No Answer)
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...x

How many of these options would be acceptable for Syria:
Democracy with a strong parliament; a system in which political parties are illegal; the Assad government; a military government

_____	-97	-99
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Experiment Module 5: What to Do with the Fighters

*[Interviewer: Respondents are **randomly assigned** to different question prompts. Please consult your list of random numbers to determine which prompt to read to each respondent.]*

v44a	Treatment group (use random number table)	1: Group 1	2: Group 2	3: Group 3
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[Interviewer: read to all respondents in all groups] Syrians have different opinions about what to do with combatants after the conflict ends. For this question, think about people fighting against the side you prefer, or the fighters in general if you don't prefer a side. Let me read you a list of possible punishments.

v(44)	<i>GROUP 1: Which of the following punishments do you support? [Interviewer: mark Group 2 and Group 3 as "Not Applicable." Do not read "No Answer."]</i>				
	<i>GROUP 1 ONLY</i>	Yes (Support)	No (Oppose)	(Not Applicable)	(No Answer)
...b	Be barred from politics	1	0	-97	-99
...c	Go to prison	1	0	-97	-99
...d	Be executed	1	0	-97	-99
...e	Be amnestied with no punishment	1	0	-97	-99
...f	Pay a fine	1	0	-97	-99

v(44)	<i>GROUP 2: I'm going to read you the whole list of punishments. When I'm done, I want you to tell me how many of them you support. Don't tell me which ones, just tell me how many. I'll read the list twice. Please keep count on your fingers, but don't show me. [Interviewer: turn your body 90 degrees and read the list twice, slowly. Mark Group 1 as "Not Applicable." Do not read "No Answer."]</i>			
	<i>GROUP 2 ONLY</i>	How many? (0-4)	(Not Applicable)	(No Answer)
...g	How many of the following punishments do you support: be barred from politics; go to prison; be executed; pay a fine.	—	-97	-99

v(44)	<i>GROUP 3: I'm going to read you the whole list of punishments. When I'm done, I want you to tell me how many of them you support. Don't tell me which ones, just tell me how many. I'll read the list twice. Please keep count on your fingers, but don't show me. [Interviewer: turn your body 90 degrees and read the list twice, slowly. Mark Group 1 as "Not Applicable." Do not read "No Answer."]</i>			
	<i>GROUP 3 ONLY</i>	How many? (0-4)	(Not Applicable)	(No Answer)
...h	How many of the following punishments do you support: be barred from politics; go to prison; be amnestied with no punishment; pay a fine.	—	-97	-99